/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 177 609 156

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

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846 825 773 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is menstruating.

[881] The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire 846 178 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals, brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to [881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation. 846 178 825 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who, instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her puberal eclosion. [826] A man-beast would attract her and would not leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal," odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the transference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to [609] [304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower [178] [184] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element. While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis, in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

This is also a fair statement of the beliefs of the Cayuá of the present time, and we may therefore safely consider it as representing the past of this people's religion. A third class of supernaturals existed, made up of the remote "sky god" culture heroes and creator beings. The earthly demons almost universally had peculiar individual traits, such as one leg, double feet (that is, legs with feet and toes extending both forward and back), red hair (!), dwarf or giant size, and similar features. No Cayuá who knew his demonology would be likely to mistake the particular spirit he might at some time be dealing with. Furthermore, the demons usually had special individual interests in life. One sustained himself entirely upon bananas (*sic!*), another on honey, and usually each lived in a particular type of place, some in the water, some in the *cerrado*, some in the *taquara* groves, some among the *pindó* palms. Some, at least, were associated as owners or protectors of certain plants or animals, and one might incur their wrath by treating the plant or animal in question in a careless or disrespectful manner. Almost any of these beings was capable of doing harm to men, although certain ones were more aggressive in this enterprise than others. A few demons may have been passive as far as man was concerned, and even fewer may occasionally have helped man by teaching him the use of plants or the knowledge of crafts. By and large, however, these beings were to be avoided, or placated if avoidance were not possible. Probably all of them had individual names.

The ghost spirits were not individually named but simply referred to generically as *angwéra*. They abounded and were omnipresent—or at least were capable of turning up practically anywhere at any time. Many of the commonest *angwéra* were ghosts of departed Cayuá—if, indeed, this was not the ultimate origin of them all. Measures were usually taken upon interment to see that the ghost of the deceased human did not return or stay in the neighborhood of his erstwhile house or village. Houses of the deceased were probably abandoned and burned. The use of fire seems closely connected with the Cayuá idea of exorcising ghosts. A fire was kindled by the grave of the newly deceased; fires were kept alive at night in the houses of the Cayuá (and are still) with the thought that this would keep lurking ghosts away. The night was especially fearful, and few would needlessly venture out alone. Great fear of possible harm caused by these spirits appears to have been characteristic of many of the Tupi-Guarani, and even whites were occasionally appealed to for help.[78] There is good reason to believe that the same was largely true of the Cayuá.

There is no direct indication that the ancient Cayuá had idols or other similar objects of worship. The Jesuits in their writings complained of the Guarani who sometimes apparently had a special structure separate from their village where they kept the bones of a former powerful *paʔé*, displayed

[78] Nimuendajú was once called upon by some Apapocuva-Guarani to use his rifle against a particularly malevolent and persistent ghost.